# FREE SOCIETY

A PERIODICAL OF ANARCHIST THOUGHT, WORK AND LITERATURE.

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### A Freeman's Litany.

From superstition's deadly grip;
From fawning, flattery's, Judas lip,
Good Liberty deliver me.

From apathy's cold, chilling power;
From despondency's dark, deadening hour,
Good Liberty deliver me.

From bribe of lips or pen or purse;
From ignoble thoughts my heart would nurse,
Good Liberty deliver me.

From authority's mean cunning, low,
A freeman's most treacherous, subtle foe,
Good Liberty deliver me.

From cringing fear or even worse,
A hardened bigot's boastful curse,
Good Liberty deliver me.

O, guide me with thy torch of truth,
That I may ever stand for thee,
Nor bow to aught that knows thee not.
So help me Liberty.

E. G. S.

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### Crime and Heredity.*

I

In his very fine "Vindication of Anarchism" now appearing in FREE SOCIETY, Comrade C. L. James takes up a position with regard to crime and criminals which appears to me to raise some questions for discussion on this important subject. He practically accepts the teaching of Lombroso and his followers, as I understand him, while the majority of anthropologists, at any rate on the Continent, do not agree with Lombroso, and the number of his adherents grows yearly less. I cannot agree with Comrade James' position for two reasons:—First, the theories of the Lombrosian school are supported by no adequate evidence; what little evidence there is on the question seeming to point to their falseness. Secondly, because the assumptions which underlie the theories of Lombroso are such as to provide, if they are true, a very formidable argument against the progress of the human race.

Let us first see what is Lombroso's theory, and what is his evidence for it. The important part of it is the assertion that there exists a class of born criminals. At any rate, the question on which I wish to lay most stress is whether what Lombroso calls "born criminals" are really such, or whether they are made criminals by their environment; that is, by the events and surroundings of their lives. This is for us the vital point in the theories of criminology. Lombroso's theories on this point have already been sufficiently disputed by anthropologists of the greatest ability,* so that in any case we ought to guard ourselves against their apparent plausibility, and examine the evidence in its favor and against it very carefully. Space will not permit a proper discussion of the question; but one or two points are worth noting.

As Manonorier points out, the methods of the Lombrosians are almost identical with those of the phrenologists, and open to the same objections. Only, instead of one bump of criminality, they find bumps all over your body. If your fingers are badly shaped, or your features are not symmetrical, if your teeth are not normal, or you are club-footed, you are a criminal. And what is the method by which they arrive at this wonderful and invaluable knowledge? They examine criminals, and note down the irregularities of their features—and that is all. They do not attempt to show why there should be any connection between anatomical irregularities and criminal tendencies, except by the use of the vague term "degeneration," and the misuse of the term "atavism" (*cf.* Manonorier). The use of the term degeneration does not explain anything, even if it is useful in other ways. For if we say that criminality is one form of degeneration, and irregular teeth, say, is another form, yet what reason have we to suppose that one form of degeneration must be accompanied by another. I repeat, for it is the vital flaw in their reasonings, that these ready theorists have not attempted to show of what kind is the connection between their physical signs of degeneration and the supposed accompanying mental signs. There is only one possible way in which they could show that there was such a connection. They could measure according to their anthropometric standards a large number of men and women, chosen haphazard, and measure similarly an equal number of criminals. They would thus obtain the average type for mankind in general, and also the average type of criminal. Their case would be proved if their figures showed a distinct and satisfactory difference between the type of the average man and the type of the average criminal. According to every rule of logic, this is the only method by which they could obtain evidence for the truth of their theories. This they have not attempted to do. But instead? They set up an imaginary type of human being—called the normal—arrived at by hopelessly unscientific methods, and then proceed to show that the criminal differs considerably from this normal, without troubling to find out whether the average of all men does not differ just as much, as is probably the truth. A good example of their style of argument is that which connects criminality with tattooing. Since Lombroso will have it that these men are born criminals, I suppose he will say that these men are born with such a character that they will one day want to tattoo themselves. This is actually what he appears to mean when he refers to tattooing as a sign of atavism. Suppose that tattooing is more common among criminals than among men of the same class and social position who are not criminals—a fact not by any means proved—well, the explanation seems to me to be very obvious. Tattooing shows that a man is uneducated, that his esthetic instincts have never been developed, but have remained at the stage at which we find them in savages. It may well be that his moral instincts have remained undeveloped too, and that in this respect also he has never risen above the level of a savgage. But if there is any connection between these two facts, the explanation is probably to be found in his lack of education, and in the brutalizing conditions of his childoood and youth. All this metaphysics of atavism seems unnecessary to explain so obvious a thing. Much more might be said to show the absurdities of this so-called science of criminology. But the reader will already have had, I hope, enough to prevent him accepting, without considerable thought, the position of Comrade James.

II

Besides the absurdity of their evidence, the Lombrosians have omitted at the beginning the very important matter of defining what is meant by a criminal—psychologically, that is to say.

Let us attempt to do it for them, and then see what difference it will make to their theories. We may define a criminal as a person whose moral sense is lacking or imperfect. You all know what is meant by "moral sense." In thinking of certain actions you feel that you do not want to do this or that,—you feel that it is wrong, and this sense of its wrongness is in most cases strong enough to prevent your doing it. Our moral sense it is that tells us what is right and what is wrong, and it acts moreover by impelling us

* FREE SOCIETY, March 22, March 29, and April 5, 1903.

† For example, Manonorier, "*Atavisme et Crime, Les Aptitudes et les Actes*," etc.

to do the right and avoid the wrong. Without the moral sense in the individual, society would be impossible. And it is thru the evolution of society that the moral sense has developed. In obeying the moral law, that is, in following the guidance of the moral sense, we act in accordance with our own best nature, itself the product of centuries of social life and mutual aid. But society as it is today thinks that this moral sense is not sufficient alone. So it makes laws, and threatens those who disobey them with punishment. Without doubt the laws and customs of early societies, enforced by public opinion, resulted in a further growth of the moral sense of the individual, making the laws after a time unnecessary. This is the explanation of the place of law and custom in social evolution. And while nations were small it had its effect. But in modern societies the laws and the punishments threatened to those who break them do *not* have this effect. This is why we Anarchists hold them to be unnecessary, even if they were good. The moral sense of the individual depends on the training of his early years, and on the influence of those persons with whom he comes in immediate contact. The statute book has no influence upon him. It does not matter for our present purpose whether laws and the fear of punishment deter a man from doing an action when his moral sense would not. And this is not the place to discuss the point as to whether the moral law and the statute law coincide. In general our definition of the criminal as a person who disobeys the moral law is correct,—at any rate correct enough for a general discussion, tho the term crime is used to denote only the breaking of certain particular moral laws. For example, it is not called a crime to tell a lie except under certain specified conditions,—in a court of law (perjury), etc. But, psychologically considered, all wrong actions are alike, tho society punishes some and not the others.

There are various sorts of criminals. There is, first, the person with no moral sense at all, who does not feel that any action is wrong. Such persons have been called "moral imbeciles" (Ellis), and are classed by Lombroso as born criminals. There are others who have a moral sense very undeveloped, ungrown. And, again, there are persons who have a fairly well developed moral sense, that is, they know what is right and what is wrong, but have not sufficient strength of character to resist a sudden temptation. Their moral sense is weak.

Now let us see what can be possibly meant by the phrase, "a born criminal." Does it mean a man born without a moral sense? But so are we all. A baby has no idea of right and wrong. What it can only be taken to mean is a person born so that it will be impossible by education and the best moral influences of life to create in him a moral sense. This is the startling metaphysical assumption that the Lombrosians make. For the life of me, I cannot understand what it can mean. How do they imagine it to come about? They offer no explanation. Do they think that the moral sense is situated in one particular part of the brain, and that this part is deficient in such persons? I do not think they would get any psychologist or physiologist to agree to that. But as I have said, the whole thing is pure assumption, and until it is proved we have the right to disregard it.

Let us look at the other side. Think for a moment of the haphazard way in which all education is carried on at present, particularly moral education, which is made an appendage of religious teaching. Think of the influences which surround a child in that class of modern society from which the largest number of criminals come. Badly nourished, in unwholesome surroundings, with only the poisoned air of cities to breathe, a child grows up with an enfeebled brain and nervous system. No care is taken to instruct the child as to its position in the world and in society; it has no opportunity to come under the raising influences of art and literature; on the contrary, it is accustomed daily to coarseness and brutality in word and deed. Can we wonder that the most notable product of our civilization, apart from lunatics, is the class we call criminals? In these facts we have explanation enough of the prevalence of crime, without needing recourse to the metaphysical theories of Lombroso.

A word more in reference to my assertion that if the assumptions underlying the theories of the Lombrosian school were true, they would be in direct opposition to views otherwise well proved. The first writer to give a full argument for Anarchism based his argument on the fact that "the characters of men originate in their external circumstances."* And every writer on Anarchism since has practically assumed the same position. The usual argument against Anarchism is that it is impossible while men are what they are. And if men were bound to stay what they are, with the superstitions and prejudices they have at present, then some of us at least would have to acknowledge that Anarchism is a vain and impossible dream. But we hold, on the contrary, that men change as their circumstances change. Men are made what they are by present social conditions, and if the social conditions were changed, men's characters would change with them. This is the basis of our argument for the possibility of Anarchism. And we hold it to be capable of scientific demonstration.

Our message to the makers of prisons and to the ignorantly learned professors is this: provide healthy and pleasant surroundings for the children of our great cities, such as ought to be given to every human being, instead of the unwholesome and miserable influences that today debase and brutalize them, and your prisons will be empty, and your professors will find some more worthy subject for their ingenuity.—*Freedom*, London.

* Godwin's "Political Justice," Book I, Ch. IV.

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### Anarchists and Office-Seeking.

The following letter is our Comrade John Turner's reply to the secretary of the Shop Assistant's Union, who had written proposing his nomination as parliamentary candidate. His position is admirably explained, and it should make it clear to those who cavil at the Anarchists for being in "advance of their time," that an immense amount of solid work can be done, nay, *must* be done, in education and organization on broad economic grounds, keeping that great issues clear of the muddle and intrigue of parliamentary tactics. This work, so much neglected by the parlimentarian "Socialists," can and will be helped in every possble way by the Anarchists:

While I am gratified with the intended compliment at being one of those nominated for ballot of the members as to the union parliamentary candidate; it would be impossible for me to stand, even if selected, since I feel very strongly that it would be wasting my time and the union's money, in a hopeless contest. Every minute lost and penny spent would be just so much money and effort diverted from the more necessary, useful, and profitable work of organizing the assistants, so that they may have the power to help themselves. Besides, if the unlikely happened, and I was selected—stood, and was returned—it would be even worse, since I should have to give a lot of time to so-called "public affairs," which are, after all, only part of the organized exploitation of labor. Any little ability I may possess would be more and more absorbed in dealing with difficulties arising out of conditions which parliament is quite helpless to alter even if it was so inclined. Being quite clear and convinced on these points, I feel my place is among the "ranks and file," trying to teach them elementary lessons of combination—assured that even those palliatives possible thru parliament will be gained much quicker by pressure from outside than by any number of representatives inside the House of Commons. For these reasons I decline.—Yours fraternally, J. TURNER.

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### Important Matters.*

No man should give commands; no one has any authority to give commands, nor has he any rightful power to enforce them after they are given. Commands imply rights and privileges that were never possessed by any human being. No human being ever had any power over his fellow men beyond that conceded to him by pusillanimous and indolent men who are willing to be slaves and therefore recognize some man as their master. No man is ever a king until he is recognized as a king, anointed and crowned as king. The people make their kings; no man ever made himself king. Those who read the Bible will notice that God himself was constantly clamoring for recognition, obedience, sacrifice, worship. The children of Israel did not do as God pleased, but as they themselves pleased. That is the way that people always do. No man can be obligated except by his own act—and even then it is impossible. We have no right to take advantage of other people's follies and mistakes.

* * *

Men have no rights, no privileges, no duties—because they have no masters who are qualified to enforce these rights and duties. Only those who are servants can have duties; only those who are masters can have privileges, or even rights. Slaves have no rights; they have only duties.

* * *

No man should make contracts, because contracts bind and hamper him, and they force him often to do things that he does not wish to do. The will that we should always follow is not a past or defunct will, but our will at the present moment. But in contracts a man is compelled to obey an old and extinct will. What we willed yesterday has no connection with what we

* The author of these articles has a new book in course of preparation, which will be ready next winter. These extracts are taken from the forthcoming volume.

will today. Our will of yesterday is another man's will, not ours.

* * *

Nothing is really right, and nothing is really wrong; nothing is really good or really bad—only as we consider that it is so, believe it to be so. If people could only change their belief, black to them would appear white, and things old would appear new once more. All the qualities of objects that attract our notice or affect us in any way have their seat in our feelings or in our perceptions. What is high for one man is low for another; what is green to one man is blue to another, and plenty of people perceive no color where color exists in abundance. Two extremes are always the end of one and the same line, and there is no mark to separate them. There is no actual difference between goodness and badness, or largeness and smallness, or strength and weakness, or between heat and cold. No one could tell where one begins and the other ends. In all cases the difference is one of degree. Things are for us merely what we think they are, and their qualities depend upon the standard with which we compare them. A man of moderate height is a giant when compared to a pigmy. A day that is hot for some people is cold for others.

* * *

It is astonishing how blind people become at last by being accustomed to certain wrongs! For instance, some people do not know what a murder is when they see it committed, or when they know that it has been committed. Some people think that a man cannot be guilty of murder if he acts under the law. But that is a serious mistake. The law cannot take away the sin of murder—it cannot change the character of the act in the least. When the electrician sends a man to eternity with 4,700 volts, what is the act but murder? "He is dead," said one of the attendants at a recent execution. "We will give it to him once more," added the electrician coolly! He wanted to make a sure thing of the job, and earn his money. How depressing it is, in this enlightened age of ours, to think that a man can be a public executioner and still hold up his head when he passes decent people on the street! It was not so in the Dark Ages.

* * *

We should free ourselves at once from the absurd notion that what we have believed we should continue to believe. Rather the contrary. We should cease to believe what we have believed, for all the beliefs of the past must be wrong—that is, wrong for people of the present time. If a belief has prevailed for a long time, the inference follows that it is out of date, since the times and conditions have changed. People of today cannot live successfully upon notions that are two thousand years old. Men should be free at all times to believe what they choose and what seems to them to be adapted to their present wants and interests. The interests of other people are no affairs of ours—only so far as they happen to affect our interests. J. WILSON.

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Thru sexual love humanity realizes its unity with the cosmos, and becomes divine. —*Ironicus.*

### Inheritance.

To inheritance of ideas, instead of to a god, we may give thanks if we are so minded for all progress in mechanics thruout the ages. We rightfully thank god for our social stagnation—slavery in one form or another. Poverty and riches is the infallible proof of slavery. Misery the unfailing accompaniment.

Of course we inherit our ideas of god and social "order" too. Why then do we move forward with certainty in the one direction and blunder and stumble along in the other? Because with knowledge of mechanical principles is transmitted liberty to examine, experiment and prove, while with god and social ideas comes the assumption that all wisdom of our relations to one another was "in the beginning"! Investigation? Banish the thought! Doomed the foolhardy inquirer!

It is plain, isn't it, that the absurd assumption of prehistoric wisdom prevails because ancestor worship (or ape worship, if you like!) is the rule with the "majority" in spite of our high state of "civilization"? Advancement stops where worship begins. Only heretics progress.

Our heretic ancestors shed their blood (think of it!) for religious and political liberty. What they got they passed along to us. Now we may, if we choose, shed our blood for *freedom from all religions, freedom from all politics, freedom from all commercialism*, aye, and be the butt of ridicule if we attempt to free ourselves from ANY of the nonsensical habits, customs, morals, etc., that fill in the chinks of our daily lives.

Most people, I think, rather "face the canon's mouth" than be a target for the shafts of ridicule. There is more "glory" in the one, certainly. But why the laughter of the rattle-brained non-thinkers should disturb the composure of people with active and progressive minds is, I confess, somewhat perplexing to me. So long as this is the case we are bound to "make haste slowly."

Customs must be attacked in whatever way we turn for freedom. Custom, or ancestor worship, is our slavery. It spawns prejudice. Anyone incased in prejudice will neither SEE nor HEAR. Peep-holes must be bored thru. They will serve to convey sound as well.

The agitator for improved conditions or for complete freedom must dare to *do* as well as to speak. Thought and speech are powerless unless bolstered with action.

When we muster courage to examine, criticize and sift our inherited social ideas, we cannot fail to discover that we are slaves, not free men and women. What then? Throw dogmas and gold-dust to the dogs! Assert our individuality. *Capture* our freedom. VIROQUA DANIELS.

Tacoma, Wash.

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### For Milwaukee.

The Arbeiter-Lese-Zirkel of Milwaukee will give a picnic for the benefit of FREE SOCIETY on Sunday, August 23, 1903, in Bay View, near St. Francis, on the shore of Lake Michigan. Take Oakland Avenue and Delaware Avenue cars, ride to city limits and walk two blocks east.

### The Folly of Punishment.

For ages men have erected scaffolds, instruments of torture, built jails, prisons and penal institutions, without end, and thru all the ages a long line of suffering humanity, bound and fettered, has been marching to slaughter and condemned to living tombs; and yet human governments charged with the responsibility of the condition and lives of these weak brothers, have never yet been able to agree even upon the purpose for which these pens are built. All punishment and violence is largely mixed with the feeling of revenge—from the brutal father who strikes his helpless child, to the hangman who obeys the orders of the judge; with every man who lays violent unkind hands upon his fellow the prime feeling is that of hatred and revenge. Some human being has shed his neighbor's blood; the State must take his life. In no other way can the crime be wiped away. In some inconceivable manner it is believed that when this punishment follows, justice has been done. But by no method of reasoning can it be shown that the injustice of killing one man is retrieved by the execution of another, or that the forcible taking of property is made right by confining some human being in a pen. If the law knew some method to restore a life or make good a loss to the real victim, it might be urged that justice had been done. But if taking life, or blaspheming, or destroying the property of another, be an injustice, as in our short vision it seems to be, then punishing him who is supposed to be guilty of the act, in no way makes just the act already done. To punish a human being simply because he has committed a wrongful act, without any thought of good to follow, is vengeance pure and simple, and more detestable and harmful than any casual isolated crime. Apologists who have seen the horror in the thought of vengeance and still believe in violence and force when exercised by the State, contend that punishment is largely for the purpose of reforming the victim. This, of course, cannot be held in those instances where death is the punishment inflicted. These victims at least have no chance to be reformed. Neither can it be seriously contended that a penal institution is a reformatory, whatever its name. A prisoner is an outlaw, an outcast man, placed beyond the pale of society and branded as unfit for the association of his fellow man; his sentence is to toil without recompense, to wear the badge of infamy, and if ever permitted to see the light to be pointed at and shunned by all who know his life.—*Clarence S. Darrow.*

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A man may see how this world goes with no eyes. Look with thine ears; see how yon' justice rails upon yon' simple thief. Hark us thine ear; change places; and, handy, dandy, which is the justice, which is the thief? Thou hast seen a farmer's dog bark at a beggar? And the creature run from the cur? There thou might'st behold the great image of authority: a dog's obeyed in office. —*King Lear.*

# FREE SOCIETY

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CHICAGO, SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1903.

427

If these figures correspond with the number printed on the wrapper of your FREE SOCIETY, your subscription expires with this number.


### Note.

Last Thursday, August 6, in the meeting at FREE SOCIETY headquarters, it was decided to dissolve the Philosophical Society, which was accordingly done, and the society is now in its eternal sleep. To carry on the propaganda next winter, a club is to be formed, provided a sufficient number of members to maintain a regular headquarters can be obtained, where meetings can be held when desirable. The club is to be more or less of a social nature. Nearly all present signified their willingness to become members of such a club, but there are not yet enough, so all the comrades willing to support such an enterprise should come in full force to the next meeting, Thursday, August 20, 1903.

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### Important for Philadelphia.

Grand annual excursion of the Social Science Club of Philadelphia, for the benefit of a radical literature and propaganda fund, on the palatial ocean steamer Twilight, to Augustine Park, Sunday, August 23, 1903. Steamer leaves Arch St. 8:15 a. m. sharp. Music, concert, dancing, refreshments. Attractions looked for; a congenial crowd; pleasant, entertaining pastime; refreshing and invigorating fun, and sparkling, breezy sunshine weather.

Adult's ticket, 50 cents.

☞ In case of rain it will be postponed for another date which will be announced.

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### Important for Chicago Only.

As the picnic of the Chicago *Arbeiter Zeitung* on May 31, was greatly hindred by rain and cold weather, many friends have urged the management to arrange another picnic this year. They have accordingly engaged Ogden's Grove, which has been newly refitted, for August 16. Prizes for children will be given, and all are invited to bring them along. Singing societies are especially invited.

Members of trade unions, turner and singing societies admitted free. Subscribers will receive complimentary tickets.

Admission at the gate 25 cents.

The grove is at Clybourn Ave. and Willow St. Take North Ave. or Clybourn Ave. cars. Transfer from all north and west side cars.

### Outpost Echoes.

Liberty costs man something.

* * *

Christianity makes a god of fear.

* * *

Poverty's woes make wealth's follies.

* * *

Race suicide is preferable to race murder.

* * *

The State speaks softly, and then strikes hard.

* * *

The love of liberty grows out of the love of beauty.

* * *

To count the ears of jackasses is not to learn the truth.

* * *

The art of government is but the art of stealing undetected.

* * *

The general strike is a general blow at the monster, exploitation.

* * *

Tom Johnson is an enemy of progress: he is trying to purify politics.

* * *

A Chicago church is to have a roof garden. Is Christ to furnish the "turns"?

* * *

The September grand jury will investigate labor troubles in Chicago—with a telescope.

* * *

The Salvation Army picks the fallen out of the street and makes room for others to fall.

* * *

Anarchists have killed men; but capitalists have caused generations of human beings to be born murdered.

* * *

Roosevelt sent one hundred dollars to the mother of twenty children. Children are worth five dollars each, it seems.

* * *

Those who cannot trust themselves naturally believe that authority is necessary, but why should they try to fasten authority upon others?

* * *

As long as woman only lives to love she will only live to die. Love should not subordinate life to itself, for love, if it be for anything, is for life's sake.

* * *

Andrew Lang joins Swinburne in declaring that Shakespeare made King Lear an Anarchist. Now if only Andrew Lang and Swinburne could have the convictions of a Lear!

* * *

Charlotte Perkins Gilman is again writing against marriage, shortly after her own new experiment in matrimony. How long will Mrs. Gilman be in following up words with deeds?

* * *

Anarchism can justify itself on mere grounds of economy, if the utopians of government would have it so. What is the use of officials, taxes and all the rest; things which can exist only on the fruits of labor; if man can agree with man over land, labor and produce, and thus save expense? The machinery of government is wasted labor and maddest utopia: it literally wastes to save.

* * *

Morgan is now engaged in squeezing the water out of some of his stocks in order to float other companies or trusts. In his infinite wisdom he has decided that there is no limit.

* * *

A new war for independence threatens in the Philippines, where the government which has digested us is trying to "benevolently assimilate" unwilling nations on the theory that the way to make men fit for freedom is to enslave them.

* * *

District Attorney Jerome, of New York, poses as a great enemy of crime; and to kill two birds with one stone, he also is a self-constituted friend of labor. His conception of crime smacks of nursery morals, and his conception of labor of capitalist drivel.

* * *

A prostitute is one who sells services. It does not matter whether the services sold are of the eye, the hand, the foot, or all of these; it does not matter if the services of the sexual organs be sold; it is prostitution, and the moralists may make the most of it. But they will not do it.

* * *

P. M. Arthur was called "a conservative labor leader," which euphemism stripped to its skin stands for reactionary scheming, or an attempt to keep the working man wholly subservient to the powers that be. Arthur will do more good dead than he ever did living, for his life was a lie.

* * *

There has been a lessening of lynching since Evansville, Indiana, went mad; and meanwhile, one wonders how many of those who have considered the problems involved realize that lynching results from the belief in the justice of punishment, and that government is the great fosterer of this belief.

* * *

The State shows its nature anew by refusing to deliver letters addressed to Helen Wilmans Post, of Seabreeze, Florida, and furnishes a fine argument against authority to who will use it. Those holding the reins of government can coerce or suppress any individual or body of individuals by merely refusing such the use of the mails.

* * *

The kaiser grows hot and cold alternately as he considers the growth of political Socialism; but if he understood such matters as well as an American politician does he would just acquaint himself with the new party, join it, get his friends to do the same, and then kill it by gradual adjustment of its ideals to the prevalent ones.

* * *

The advocates of trade unionism in general say little about the economic causes of the miseries which afflict the workers, but make their shibboleth *higher wages*. Therefore they and their followers must ever be told that the well-being of labor involves nothing less than a complete abolition of the present status of land, labor, and products;

that higher wages are only palliatives of exploitation, and that the general strike, toward which they are moving, is in its destruction of capitalism their normal goal.

* * *

Upon the Chinese government demanding the arrest of some reform Chinese journalists, with the object of executing them, the ministers of the United States, when appealed to by the condemned men, refused to join the British ministers in a protest against the threatened blow at free speech. Our government stands for a queer sort of liberty.

* * *

Religion bids man endure, suffer, have faith, and accept finally everything as from God, and thus is the best friend of oppression; liberty rises, looks religion in the face, and not knowing which to do first, laugh or curse, ends by spitting on the idols and bidding man ignore threats of hell and hopes of paradise in favor of attention to the things of this life. Unattended to, religion gasps and dies.

* * *

The cure for sex slavery, for jealousy, for cruelty, for murders for love (?) is variety of sex association. When the gratification of sex desire is disassociated from privilege, a legal thing, and becomes a matter of voluntary action, when everyone is free thru experence of love's place in the economy of life; when variety has destroyed the madness of exclusiveness, then sex association will be an unmixed good.

* * *

Temperance cranks are greatly agitated over Professor Atwater's proof that alcohol is a food, and fear that their propaganda will suffer in consequence. They are conservatives in economics, and will have it that intemperance is the cause of poverty. Metaphysics do their worst with such people, who would rather be wrong and hate "rum" than be right and admit that manhood might coexist with the liberty to get drunk.

* * *

The government at Washington is at present engaged in discreetly covering up all traces of peculation on the parts of its various officials. The man of words, those teeth on horseback, is as quiet as a mouse when deeds are called for. The approach of a national election and the probability that any accused official could shout back to his accuser, "you're another!" are facts sufficiently explanatory of the government's masterful inaction. AMERICUS.

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### Splinters.

The suffrage is a bribe, devised to prolong the life of government.

* * *

The great need of the trade union movement is to get rid of its politicians.

* * *

Will not someone rise and volunteer to tell the Populists that they are dead?

* * *

The plutocratic Chicago *Chronicle* has set up a howl because trade unions are withdrawing their members from the militia. It says Texas will lose twenty-five per cent of its organized militia from this cause. It claims that this is treason. Exactly so! It is treason to the State, the bulwark of labor exploitation. Will the *Chronicle* explain why the worker should be a traitor to himself?

* * *

Praising Carnegie for his philanthropic "gifts" is like praising a thief who restores stolen goods.

* * *

Maddenism is the natural and inevitable result of the government postoffice. Those who oppose Madden are running around in a circle. It is better to get rid of the cause—that is, the institution itself.

* * *

George Macdonald has propounded an inquiry as to what disposal is to be made of murderers under Anarchy. Comrade Barnes answers the query, Mr. Macdonald says, by repelling the idea that murders will occur after the Anarchistic dispensation comes in. Macdonald very properly doubts such a contention, so the inquiry still stands. As the inquirer is perhaps not averse to a variety of opinions, I venture a few remarks on the subject.

It is very likely true that Comrade Barnes has read his testament, like many other reformers, and received even more ideas therefrom than Macdonald suspects. One of the ideas very generally retained by many reformers, only slightly modified, is the belief in the second coming of the Savior, whose arrival ushers in the millennial dawn in the form of their favored plan. I wish to assure our friend that I am not a victim to such a fanciful idea.

It is very likely that under Anarchy murders will occur. What is to be "done" with murderers it is hard to tell. In fact it is not possible to foresee what people will do in the future, in a society radically different from the present. But I am nevertheless confident that in an Anarchistic state people will not as a general rule make kings and presidents of their murderers, and honor them in the ratio of the slaughter to their discredit. In fact it is just the purpose of Anarchism to stop the wholesale trade of murder by deposing the governments, with their armies, courts of justice, gallows and similar appurtenances. While the disappearance of murder on the wholesale scale will thus materially diminish the "problem," the retail business may still go on. I believe that only very few private murders will occur with a transformation of economic conditions and the sexual freedom of woman. The defense of property rights in women leads to a great number of the socalled "murders of passion." The best way to solve a problem is to make it disappear. Anarchism, therefore, approaches the question of murder—and all "crime"—with great confidence.

But to come direct to the point, I do not see that when a murder is committed, the occasion calls for "doing" anything in particular. Where does the benefit of getting the murderer murdered, as is done today, come in, since it still leaves one murderer at large? Very probably nothing will be done to a man who commits murder in a state of Anarchy. Experience teaches that this is the best way.

Observations among Anarchists of the present time confirms me in the above view. As they do not believe in "crime," and consequently in punishment, they do not punish. Acts which ordinarily are considered crimes, have been committed among them; and all, even those injured, united in attempting to keep the police out of an affair (which was no concern of the latter), when there was danger of such interference. Otherwise nothing was "done," and they get along as well as most people, and better than a great many. ABE ISAAK JR.

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### Truth Seeking.

Truth is the parent of liberty. You can't mistake the man who has got it. It breathes from every pore. It shines in his face. It sounds in his voice. It rings in his laugh. It is felt in his grip. It is heard in his walk. It is life itself.

We come out of the presence of a man who has the truth feeling refreshed, as if a good wind had blown the cobwebs from our brain.

The seeds of truth are legion, the more we gather the more there is to gather; the more we have the more we want.

We sometimes mistake the seeds of lies for the seeds of truth, but we soon know it.

If it is a lie against the physical being it causes a spot of disease. If it is a lie against the mental being it befogs the reason. If it is a lie against the moral being it chafes and blights the spirit.

When you find that you have gathered a lie for the truth cast it out. Don't hug a lie to your bosom because it looks like the truth or because you have spent time in the gathering of it.

But gather in the grain; don't be afraid. If it is the truth and it helps you mentally, morally, or physically, it is good; keep it. If it is a lie and hurts you mentally, morally, or physically, it is bad; cast it out. Know the truth and the truth shall make you free. E. G. S.

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### LETTER-BOX.

*J. Fleming, Melbourne, Australia.*—Thank you for report on strike situation. It was very interesting. We would be glad if you could report other events of importance.

*Tina, Bennington, Kans.*—We would like another short article from you. The one which you have sent thrashes over the Kerr-Americus controversey, and we do not want to give State Socialism undue importance in our pages.

*J. M., Philadelphia.*—Your article is well written, but we fear four lines is all we can spare about the dead pope. Besides, he is already forgotten, and disappeared into the utter oblivion of all his predecessors three days after his burial, and we do not care to revive his memory.

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### For San Francisco.

The Anarchist propaganda is now carried on every Sunday at 7:30 p. m. at Knights of Red Branch Hall, 1133 Mission St. Discussion and free platform.

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## A Vindication of Anarchism.

X (concluded.)

Spiritualism, since I have mentioned it, is not, to be sure, a metaphysical system (tho its so-called Harmonial Philosophy is), because it claims to rest upon objective facts, the investigation of whose evidence is quite within the province of induction. But granting, for the sake of argument, that the facts are sufficiently made out, there can be nothing less like inductive philosophizing, than committing oneself to the government of invisible "guides" after the Spiritualist's fashion. The inductive method discards all authority. We saw in Section VII that it taught authority to originate in the superstitious reverence of savages for clan traditions, which traditions, we have however seen elsewhere, rest on no foundation laid by the natural processes of selection, as other gregarious animals' tribal habits do, but, on the contrary, are beyond belief cruel, foolish, and injurious to those who go by them; so that emancipation from them is the measure of advance in intelligence. There may indeed be sometimes a necessity for going in a practical matter by *testimony*, which, as all language witnesses, is a kind of authority; nay, even the *opinion* of a doctor in sickness or a pilot at sea is not without rashness disputed by an unprofessional person on his own responsibility. Inductive philosophy, however, encourages or rather allows such appeals to authority only in such cases of *urgent present* necessity. If there be time to investigate the doctor's or the pilot's judgment, or the witness' statements, without great sacrifice or danger, this is the course induction recommends. Nay, then when this method does justify relying on authority, even provisionally, the inductive philosopher verifies *as far as under the circumstances he can*, cross examining the authority, and especially sounding it on its own proficiency, not in mere reputation but in fact. Accordingly authority and induction, tho they make a sort of treaty now and then, are enemies, of whom the latter prevails more and more against the former as intelligence increases, and they can have no better understanding than a temporary truce. Authority is the basis of superstition (not necessarily of religion); induction is the basis of science, and science we have elsewhere seen, is the remedy perpetually encroaching on the hereditary disease of superstition. And as the method of the Spiritualist (with "guides") is thus opposed to the inductive method, upon which Anarchism rests, his arrival at the conclusion of Anarchism, must, however common an occurence, be accidental.

It remains only to point out in conclusion, that tho Anarchism in no way rests upon Christianity, Spiritualism, Transcendentalism, Altruism, Egoism, or Materialism, it is equally far from antagonizing any of these systems. It has, we saw, its representatives among believers of them all. It rests upon induction. The peculiar beauty of induction is that, being a physical method, the only one which discovers physical truth, or consequently any truth capable of being discovered and so proved by man to the satisfaction of man, it has nothing to do with dogmas or speculations outside physical relations, or within such relations but outside proof. It furnishes a true basis of reconciliation, a common ground of friendship, to the champions, hitherto so hostile, of every extra-scientific opinion, not only by giving them an abundant field in which their equal right to labor admits of no dispute, but also by allowing proper space and weight to the proofs of all their theories, while simply ignoring such theories so far as they fail to offer any proof.* Whatever, to illustrate, the Materialist can say about the necessity of his assumptions as hypothesis in physical research, or about increasing by complex systematic evidence of parallelism between mental and nervous phenomena, stands, like a balance to his credit, in the books of inductive philosophy, which are always perfectly right, as far as they go; but are never complete and therefore never closed. Similarly, to the credit of Spiritualism stand all the interesting facts recently collected by the Society for Psychical Research; and so stand also, tho at a big discount, like bonds of a South American republic, all those ghost stories beloved of the more credulous Spiritualists, such as Robert Dale Owen or Alfred Russell Wallace. To the credit of Christianity stands whatever can be made out of its adaptation to the needs of man, its moralizing influences, its success; considerations regarded as capital by Bacon and Bacon's reviewer Macaulay. However discredited, the arguments of Whatley and his school from "miracles and philosophy," of Paley and Butler from "natural theology" and "undesigned coincidences," and of still older apologists from modern miracles, may be drawn on also—for whatever they prove to be worth. Transcendentalism shall have all the advantage of being an actual explanation of what Materialism, assumed to be its alternative, posits simply without any. Egoism may claim all its verbal logic amounts to; Altruism all there really is in its appeal to emotion, and its alleged practical effects. To settle among these creditors of the General Registration Office of Truths, is at present none of my business; indeed, as an Anarchist, I can never be expected to attempt settling anything further than their claims upon me personally. I have written this section first to disprove the notion that any of them owns the concern; secondly, to show that none need be uneasy about the safety of their investments. Whatever they put in will certainly come out; for this bank, receiving deposits from all sources, and destined by virtue of its reliability to absorb the business of the universe, has, indeed, recorded of course, only what it has actually, as yet, received; but by the trial balances of constant experiment it demonstrates the correctness of all its entries, and by publication of the experimental method, holds its books continually open to general inspection.

XI

Anarchism, we have felt justified in saying since the close of our seventh section, is founded on the inductive principle, as science also is. But this method has the admirable property of being the only one by which nothing can be sustained illegitimately. A false conclusion reached syllogistically is often quite incapable of refutation, because the error is undiscoverably buried in the premises—*e. g.* it looks as tho either the affirmative or the negative of this proposition that God, being just, has predestined some of his creatures to eternal sin and punishment, must be as true and as exclusive of its opposite as that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles. But while all who have the means of forming any opinion on the subject agree that the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, the very specialists in "theological science" are the men least able to agree whether the doctrine of reprobation be true or false. This is not on account of any error in their dialectics, else it could be remedied easily enough; and such very able dialecticians as Augustine, Calvin, Arminius, and Edwards, would certainly have found the way. The fault is evidently in their premises. An inductive philosopher, looking at such a sentence as "God, being just, has predestined some of his creatures to eternal sin and punishment" sees at once that almost every word in it implies comprehension of what is incomprehensible, and knowledge of what cannot be known. The affirmative reasons from God's omniscience, the negative from his justice, two premises of which both involve the idea, or rather the assertion, of an infinite absolute, and are at least for the finite mind which is to use them, contradictory. It is thus very easy to arrive by correct syllogism at conclusions hopelessly unwarrantable. You have but to start with a premise, of which there are as many as metaphysical conceptions, incapable of being either proved or disproved, unless this be disproof to show that the negative is as plausible as the affirmative. But induction admits no premises other than particular phenomena; so, while a sound induction can by no possibility result in a false conclusion, an unsound one can never long escape detection in a philosophic world devoted especially to experimental search for truth. Such a world it is which has detected the error common to all metaphysics and the cause. If then Anarchism follows (of necessity correctly), from application of inductive methods to social problems; it also follows that whatever is hostile to science is hostile to Anarchism. This section and the next are written mainly in the way of advice to Anarchists, as those preceding were to show the irresistible force of the Anarchistic demonstrations to readers who were not Anarchists. The thesis of the present section is that any diposition in an Anarchist which can be utilized to draw him away from philosophic devotion to the inductive method is one between which and his Anarchism, he will sooner or laetr have to choose. The proposition clearly is by no means without importance to others as well as Anarchists.

That religion is hostile to science is a familiar proposition we have seen some reasons for disputing. But there need be little question that religious dogmatism is. How marked this hostility has been, as matter of historical fact, we have seen illustrated already to so considerable an extent that I need do no more than refer again by name to the books out of which it was illustrated,

* On this aspect of Secularism see Huxley, "Lay Sermons."

such as Lecky's "History of Rationalism," Draper's "Conflict of Science and Religion," White's "Warfare of Science with Theology." A criticism passed with great unanimity by dogmatists of all schools, upon these books, particularly Draper's, was, however, that no such "warfare" or "conflict" exists. That science and what passed for orthodoxy were not always on the best of terms, was indeed scarcely disputable. But we were assured that there had never been anything worse between them than "a slight unpleasantness"—a misunderstanding, growing partly out of the unlikeness of their methods; partly out of the misrepresentations of interested persons who, according to their several positions, directed an illegitimate use of scientific authority against religion, or religious authority against science. In opposition to this view I have reasoned (Section IV) that religion has been hostile to science just as far as religion represented authority, which the established religion necessarily does; and this, I also intimated just now, is not accidental but necessary, because Science is an Anarchist, whose first thought is to repudiate authority at least as far as practicable. Authority, and therefore religion, so far as religion means authority, instinctively recognize science for an enemy; always seek to destroy it; and when this does not seem immediately practicable, endeavor to enslave it, clip its wings, hamper its legs, and in short, overcome it by some process which tho less radical than the one they would choose, is the most like that of any they can apply. While, therefore, Science owes something to innovating religions, and thus to Christianity, in whose very essence perpetual innovation is so deeply seated that it seems

"intended
"For nothing else than to be mended";

there is necessarily conflict, and always conflict, and nothing but conflict, between the scientific spirit and any form of religion, whether Christian, Jewish, Mahometan, or Pagan, which has once become conservative. The long-desired ultimate, complete, and final reconciliation of religion with science, is hopeful for this reason only, that *the religious spirit in its purity is as Anarchistic as the scientific*, and becomes conservative only in proportion as it becomes corrupt; a principle inferable from the very radical tendencies of all religions, while they are new; but signally conspicuous in such pious Anarchists as Tolstoy; who are also (it can scarcely be disputed) the most religious men now living. I have already gone some way to prove these assertions. Synthetically, I think I have shown that they are inferable from rational first principles. Analytically, I have asserted, perhaps proved, that Buddhism is the only religion outside the Judæo-Christian movement which has not been absolutely lethal to scientific progress beyond a certain point; that there are reasons for hesitating to say Buddhism would not be as bad if the scientific tendency it had to encounter were ever sufficiently provoking to its authority; that Christianity has only just missed being as bad—certainly thru no fault of its priesthood or conservative element; that there are strong reasons for believing Spiritualism would be as bad if it could. I shall show in this section that Protestantism has (only just) done better than Romanism for no other reasons than because it has been comparatively weak, disunited, and so situated as to make innovation its best play. If there be an open point in such an induction it should be that Greek paganism, in the days of Greek liberty, was not very hostile to science. But Greek paganism in the days of Greek liberty, slew Socrates and Prodicus, and persecuted Protagoras and Aristotle, the protege of a tyrant. This, too, when Aristophanes was openly turning into ridicule upon the stage, the gods, their offerings, and their infernal tribunal! Orthodoxy can bear to be laughed at but not disproved, for the laugher will conform to those ceremonies from which the priests derive their revenue, but the disprover has too much zeal for that. The history of Aristotle and of those honors posthumously bestowed upon him, is indeed very instructive. Only as complete empiricist, says Schwegler, he is entitled to be called a philosopher. In other words he seeks a theory of the universe in the only way deemed practicable by scientists, that is the inductive and analytical. He pronounces these "ideas," which his teacher Plato had considered the stuff whence all things are made, mere abstractions from particulars; plainly says such abstractions are the elements, not of the universe, as it is, but as we know it; declares induction the only source of discoveries and that logic for which he became so famous the art of controversy alone; refutes ontology; and studies each particular form of being by observation or experiments, or both. The most "Baconian" of ancient philosophers was neglected by the cultured as well as persecuted by the stupid element among his contemporaries. It is well known the ancients had a different Aristotle from "ours." They seem, judging by a few quoted fragments, to have found his methods unattractive and valued his writings only as literature, in which character again they did not think them equal to Plato's.* The first act of the Christian Church after her victory over paganism, was to suppress the works of the great thinker to whom she afterwards referred so much. When, many centuries later, the Arabs obtained a text of "our" Aristotle from the Greeks, only half spurious lectures, wholly ignored by most ancient writers, were to be found. All this was a tribute, such as persecutors render, to Aristotle's merits. Platonic "ideas" like those Aristotle rejected for unreal, are the very stuff out of which theology is made. The most fundamental of all Christian doctrines, the Atonement, is intelligible, if we interpret it with Abelard, who adopted Aristotle's view of "ideas," as a reconciliation of man to God. But if we say God was reconciled to man; either this is a mere metaphor, or "ideas" such as sin, divine justice, satisfaction for sin, etc., must be taken, after Plato's fashion, to be primordial realities, not abstractions from particular sins, natural laws, etc., nor figurative expressions for such abstractions. Hence, from the resuscitation of Aristotle or even earlier, the ecclesiastical schools were occupied with the war of Nominalists and Realists. The extreme doctrine of a Nominalism (that abstract terms are mere *flatus voces*, for subjective conceptions) tho taught by the Stoics, was considered quite heterodox. The middle view of Aristotle and Abelard was tolerated, but even now Plato was preferred to Aristotle about this, until William of Occam ventured to dispute the argumentative theology of Thomas Aquinas on the grounds that what was verbally true might be philosophically false. He was supported in this by the Franciscans and Scotists, who were at odds with the Thomists already upon a closely parallel issue—whether faith could be arrived at as the legitimate result of a syllogistic process (philosophic truth), or only thru will to be regenerated (moral truth, corresponding to the polemic whereby orthodoxy had been supposed vindicated; which it evidently was not unless these are identical). Thus the Scholastic philosophy reached a standstill. Then nominalism gained ground continually till at last even Aristotle was assailed with the same weapon which he had furnished against Plato. Since the Reformation, it is needless to say, such questions have been abandoned to cultivators of obsolete wisdom. But tho the famous argument that, if the universal were not in the particular, it could not be got out, must strike us as a specimen of extinct logomachy; and tho this is implied in Aristotle's reasoning; we must not forget that Aristotle was always too rational to please the Church. The instinct which made her suppress his works till she was forced to use them against more formidable scepticism, like Roscellin's, was sound. Metaphysics which might result in this, that doctrines true theologically were false philosophically, would not do. The only way to be safe is *credo quia impossible*—the more absurd a doctrine the more faith shown in believing it! See on these highly interesting parts of intellectual history, the Encyclopedia Britannica article on "Aristotle," the chapter in Mahaffy's "Greek Literature," and Darras' ultramontane history of the Christian Church.

C. L. JAMES.

(To be continued.)

* The chapter on Aristotle in Mahaffy's "History of Greek Literature" gives the most detailed account I have ever seen of the difference between "our" Aristotle and the hopelessly lost works, the character of the latter, the probable process of their annihilation, and the scientific manners after which the extant reports of discourses in the *peripatoi* were preserved. The popularity of the Organon probably began in the schools of Alexandria. Mahaffy, however, shows, among other things, that Aristotle was not as completely lost in the West between the fifth and the eleventh centuries as has been commonly supposed. There are Latin versions, barbarous in style but faithful in sense, produced during the lowest period of the Dark Ages.

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### Here and There.

Reports from the Philippines state that the natives are still actively drilling and gathering arms. Trouble in the near future is in store. The Philippine army contains many deserters from the American ranks.

No. 27 of *Neues Leben*, Berlin, has been confiscated, and the editor is in prison "under investigation."

The whole of southern Russia is affected by gigantic strikes. In Kieff, Odessa, Charkoff, Nikolojeff, and other places the strikers have had conflicts with the troops.

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